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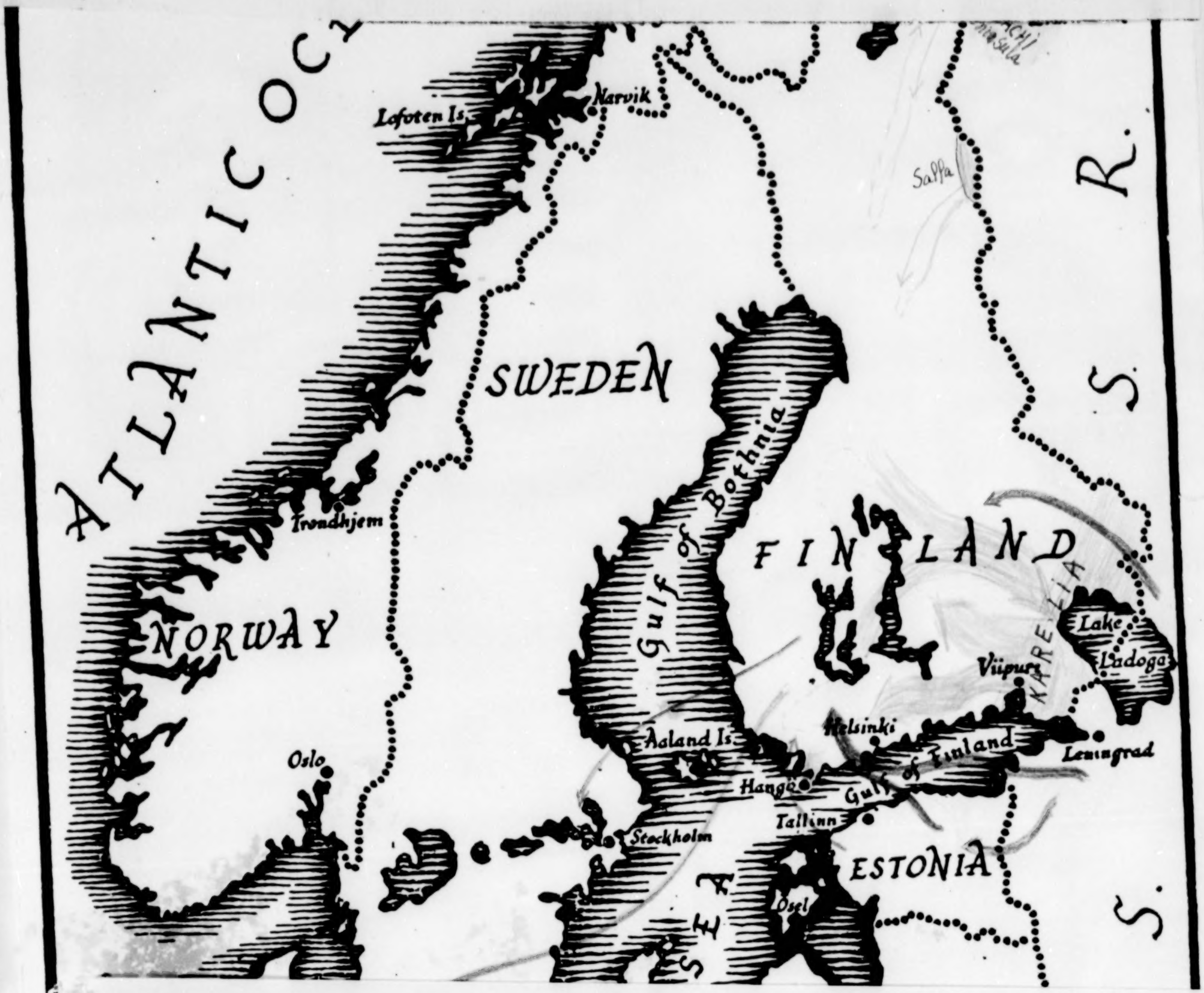
POPULATION DISPLACEMENT OF FINLAND

31 December 1943

THE POPULATION DISPLACEMENT OF FINLAND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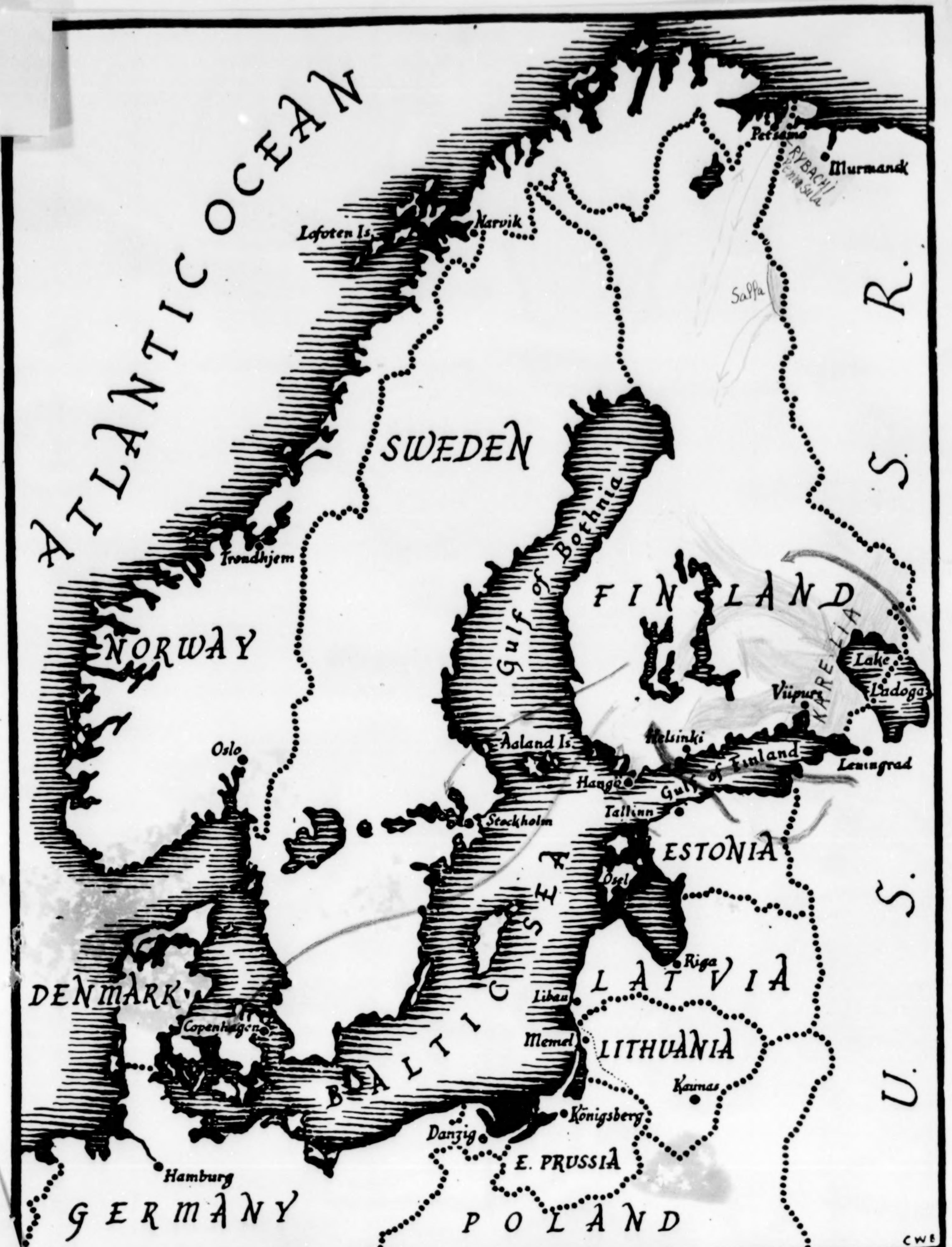
- ▨ Areas ceded to the USSR on March 1940
- ▨ Karelians and other groups evacuated from the ceded areas in 1939-40 and repatriated in 1941-43
- ▨ Russian prisoners of war
- ▨ Ingermanlanders
- ▨ Estonian and Swedish refugees
- ▨ Finnish children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I. INTRODUCTION

According to the 1930 census, Finland had a population of 3,463,000. On 1 January 1940, the population of the pre-war area was estimated at 3,684,000. The natural increase was moderate (6.5 per thousand in 1939).[1]

Since 1939, Finland has been engaged in two wars with the USSR. The Winter War lasted from 30 November 1939 to 12 March 1940. In June 1941 Finland became an ally of Germany, joining in the battle against the Soviet Union.

Finland's main population displacement involved the Karelians. Some four hundred thousand Karelians were evacuated to inner Finland either during, or immediately after, the Winter War from Finnish (or Western) Karelia which was ceded to Russia. In 1941 after the reconquest of this area, some 250,000 Karelian refugees returned home.

The Finnish casualties suffered during the Winter War have been estimated at 66,000. Of this number 23,000 were killed and the rest wounded. There is no official information on the Finnish losses of this war, but according to *Berlinske Tidende* of 28 July 1943 "they are said to equal those of the first war, and they may even be larger." These losses have left a tremendous gap in Finland's working male population.

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[1] *Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations*, Geneva, 1941.

Thus because of the acute labor shortage, brought about through mobilization and war losses, as well as the increased demands of war industry, Finland has willingly accepted immigrants of Finnish origin. However, this influx consisted mainly of women and children, who were utilized for agricultural work. Some 53,000 Ingermanlanders were also transferred to Finland, and an unascertained number of refugees from Estonia have found asylum there.

Another large group of persons brought into Finland are the some forty thousand Russian prisoners of war.

The tremendous manpower shortage also influenced the departure of persons from Finland. There are few, if any, Finnish workers in Germany. Finnish children evacuated to Sweden and Denmark were called home at planting time, if they were in the age groups liable for children's work duty. The number of children who remained in Sweden and Denmark may be estimated at some ten thousand.

German pressure brought to bear on the Finns, in order that they take measures against foreign Jews (refugees who had come to Finland from Russia after the Bolshevist revolution, from Nazi Germany, and from other countries), encountered strong opposition in Finnish public opinion, and had no results.[1]

A small number of Finnish deserters fled to Sweden. Those found to be political refugees were permitted to remain in Sweden; the others were handed over to the Finnish authorities.[2]

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[1] Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews, published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, 1943, pp.224-225.

[2] Dagens Nyeter, 13 October 1943.

II. EVACUATION, RESETTLEMENT, AND REPATRIATION OF POPULATIONS IN AREAS CEDED TO THE USSR IN MARCH 1940

A. Background

The war between Finland and Russia, known as the Winter War, started on 30 November 1939. On 12 March 1940, a treaty was signed in Moscow under the terms of which Finland ceded the following territories to the USSR:

(a) the Karelian Isthmus, including the Eastern Islands in the Gulf of Finland, the city of Viipuri (Viborg) and the region around Lake Ladoga;

(b) part of the communes of Kunsamo and Salla, centered on Finland's eastern frontier;

(c) the western part of the Rybachi peninsula situated on the Arctic.

Furthermore, both the fortress city and the peninsula of Hangö (Hanko), situated between the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia, as well as the surrounding islands of the peninsula, were leased to the USSR for a period of thirty years.

The Karelian Isthumus (including Viipuri, the second largest city in Finland) and Ladoga Karelia, the region around Lake Ladoga, were among Finland's most thickly populated areas. The other eastern border territories, ceded to Russia, were very sparsely populated, containing a total population of only a few thousand. The Hangö peninsula and the surrounding islands contained about ten thousand inhabitants.

B. Karelia

1. Evacuation from Karelia of 1939-40. The Moscow treaty permitted persons desiring to leave the ceded territories to do so within a very limited period of time. However, only about one fourth of the Karelians left for the interior of Finland under the terms of this treaty, as the vast majority had already been evacuated during the hostilities.[1] According to a Tass report from Stockholm, "as early as 1939 the Finnish authorities had forcibly evacuated to the interior over 350,000 Karelians."[2] The number who left after the peace had been declared has been estimated at one hundred thousand.[3] Although the peace treaty made no mention of compulsory removal, almost all the remaining Karelians left the ceded territories.

Newspaper reports for that period, as well as other sources, generally place the total number of evacuees at 450,000. This figure has also been accepted by such well-known experts as Niilo A. Mannio, State Secretary of the Finnish Ministry of Social Works,[4] and Eljas Kahra, Chief of Division in the Finnish Ministry of Communications and

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[1] The New York Times, 15 March 1940.
[2] Pravda, 26 January 1942.
[3] The New York Times, 28 March 1942.
[4] "Finnische Sozialpolitik waehrend der Kriege." Reichsarbeitsblatt, 25 November 1942.

Public Works.[1] President Ryti in a speech at Abo, according to an official Finnish broadcast of 6 December 1943, stated that as many as 470,000 Karelians had left their homes and returned to Finland.

Nevertheless there are indications that this figure greatly surpasses the actual number of persons evacuated. The Finnish Ministry of Social Works placed the total population of the ceded Karelian territory (Karelian Isthmus and Ladoga Karelia) before the war, at only some 420,000.[2] News from Finland of 26 January 1943 published an even lower figure. A report on the return movement into reconquered Karelia stated that "by the end of last year the civilian population of West Karelia had risen to 233,000 souls in number, representing 56 percent of the total pre-war population of the territory."[3] This would imply a pre-war population of 415,000.

On 14 March 1940, Jaho Koivisto, Assistant Minister of Agriculture, stated that only 1 percent of the population of the ceded areas had decided to remain under the Russian regime.[4] The following day, the New York Times Helsinki correspondent cabled that practically the entire population of the ceded districts had chosen to move.[5] An

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1. "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941.
2. Social Tidskrift Utgiven av Socialministeriet, Helsinki, No.9-10, 1942.
3. News from Finland, 26 January 1943.
4. The New York Times, 15 March 1940.
5. The New York Times, 16 March 1940.

article published in Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft entitled "Wiederaufbau Kareliens," stated that "hardly a Karelian family remained behind."[1] According to News from Finland of 13 March 1943 "only four or perhaps five misguided souls out of the native population of half a million remained behind to greet the barbaric hordes of the East." And in the above mentioned speech President Ryti stated that "only twenty people remained voluntarily to live under the Russian regime."[2] Thus it would seem that the total number of persons evacuated was from 415,000 to 420,000, rather than 450,000 to 470,000. However, even these figures are too high when considered in the light of data on the return movement to Karelia in 1942-43, after that territory was reconquered.

On 29 November 1942, a Helsinki dispatch quoting the Finnish Refugees Relief Bureau announced that by the end of October, 232,323 Karelians had returned to their old homes, while "the number of Finns still living a refugee existence was 161,484."[3] According to these figures the total number of Karelian refugees was about 394,000. News from Finland of 6 February 1943 gave 237,529 and 149,199 respectively as the figures for those who returned home and those still abroad,

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1. "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.
2. Official Finnish Broadcast, 6 December 1943.
3. Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

and a Helsinki dispatch of 6 May 1943 spoke of 250,000 and 138,000,[1] making a total of some 387,000 or 388,000 refugees.

Taking into account the hardships which the refugees had been forced to undergo, both en route and at their final destination, on the one hand, and on the other hand the fact that there have been no reports of mass mortality, the number of Karelian refugees may be estimated at 400,000 or at 95 to 97 percent of the pre-war population of the province. This would leave some 15,000 to 20,000 Karelians who had remained under the Soviet regime. This Bureau asked the Finnish Legation in Washington for any data which might explain the discrepancy between the accepted figure of 450,000 Karelian refugees, and the considerably lower figures on the Karelian population, as well as on the number of refugees arrived at as a result of the above mentioned data. T.O. Vahervuori, Counselor of Legation, gave the following explanation:

"I believe that the contradiction may be at least partly explained by the fact that the total number of people - some 450,000 in round figures - who migrated from their homes as a result of the Moscow peace in March 1940 did not cover only Karelians but also other inhabitants in certain other parts of Finland immediately affected by the peace terms. For example, all residents of the city of Hanko and surrounding territory, 'leased' to Russia for 30 years, had to seek new homes elsewhere in the country. They numbered about 10,000. In addition to the ceded area located within the Province of Viipuri (West Karelia), certain communities or parts of communities located further north, within the Province of Kuopio, Oulu, and Lappi, were also ceded to Russia, and their inhabitants - totalling some 23,000 - were likewise evacuated. Thus the number of strictly 'Karelian' evacuees was not more than 417,000. And this number has no doubt been subsequently reduced by quite a few deaths among the evacuees, many of whom were old people in poor health."

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[1] Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

After the Moscow treaty, during the short period allotted to the refugees before the evacuation, persons who had previously left Karelia were also permitted to return home for the purpose of assembling their belongings. Nevertheless, conditions were such that they were unable to take very much with them. The evacuation was started on March 14th and was completed between March 21st and 27th.[1] "Automobiles, trains and wagons from all parts of Finland moved towards the lost districts to help with the evacuation. Despite this, there was a great scarcity of vehicles."[2] According

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1. The New York Times, 15,16,22,and 28 March 1940.
2. The New York Times, 16 March 1940.

to Eljas Kahra in the previously mentioned article[1] the evacuees "had very little opportunity to take any kind of property with them. Their cattle had already been evacuated; but apart from that, all that could be saved was perhaps their money, but very little else."

2. Resettlement of the Evacuated Karelians. The resettlement of some four hundred thousand people and their economic reintegration presented a difficult task for a nation with a total population of only 3,684,000 persons. The problem was twofold due to the occupational structure of the evacuees. Assuming that they constituted a mass of 450,000 persons, Eljas Kahra estimated that about 180,000 or about two fifth belonged to the agrarian population, while some 270,000 were engaged in other occupations. Although Kahra's absolute figures are exaggerated, they indicate roughly the main occupational distribution of the evacuated Karelians.

Recognizing the necessity of installing the farmer population so that they could continue to earn a livelihood as an agricultural group, the Finnish Government introduced a Bill which enabled the speedy settlement of the transferred population on the land. This Bill was passed by the Finnish Parliament and went into effect on 28 June 1942.[2] Under its

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1. "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941.
2. "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941.

provisions, any adult Finnish citizen who moves into Finland, or is transferred from an area bordering the new national frontier, and who had in the past derived a livelihood from, possessed a dwelling on, or earned part of his living from the land or from fishing, either as the owner, or part-owner of a holding, or as the tenant of a state holding in his former place of domicile, is under the terms of this Act entitled to a priority right in accordance with the existing Land Settlement Act, as well as to loans issued out of land settlement funds. In addition, he has certain rights to land as provided for by the Act of 28 June 1940.

Property designated for this purpose in each locality was primarily state land; the process of settlement was simplified by the fact that 40 percent of Finland's territory belonged to the state.[1] In districts where the state-owned land was inappropriate or insufficient, the necessary property was obtained first through voluntary transfer, and as a last resort by the expropriation of land belonging to churches, communities, corporations, and various other organizations, or to persons deriving their main income from non-agricultural occupations or not residing on their properties, as well as neglected holdings and so on.

The resettlement scheme provided for the creation of 38,818 new holdings, for which purpose 818,528 acres of already cultivated or arable land were needed. By the end of 1940, after only four months of activity, 6,678 new holdings had already been created, and 4,208 more had been staked off. These figures do not include holdings acquired by evacuated farmers through private purchases financed out of state funds.[1] The settlement authorities had also undertaken the extensive drainage and reclamation of land set aside for future colonization; evacuated Karelians were employed on this project.[2]

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[1] Buhler, Jean. "Reconstruction en Finlande." Gazette de Lausanne, 22 January 1941.

However, peasants constituted only a minority of the evacuees. The majority of them were persons who had previously earned a living from industry, commerce, the handicrafts, the liberal professions, building and other trades. The task of providing a means of livelihood for this section of the population was particularly difficult in 1940, because Finland's trade had been crippled as a result of the fact that her lanes of commerce lay directly in the war zone. Industry on the Finnish side of the new frontier was finding it difficult to provide sufficient work for its own labor force, and there was little left for the evacuees. Furthermore, it had only been possible to move some of the industries from the ceded areas to

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1. "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941. There are no figures available for 1941. This may be explained by the fact that since the autumn of 1941 the return movement to Karelia has been in progress (see p. 10).
2. Thoss, Alfred. "Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neuordnung Europas." Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, March 1941.

inner Finland. Thus it had been necessary to retrain workers so as to be able to direct them to other branches of activity. As a stopgap, they were given employment on various kinds of state-organized construction work, such as road and bridge building, and railway construction.[1]

Finnish non-Karelian observers, as well as foreigners,[2] have emphasized the tremendous rehabilitation job, accomplished by the Finnish Government over a short period of time, despite the blows endured by Finland's economy in the Winter War and the general difficulties resulting from the World War.

Soviet sources, on the other hand, have sharply criticized the policy of the Finnish Government with regard to the resettlement of the Karelians. A Tass dispatch from Stockholm of 24 January 1942,[3] reported that since their evacuation, the Karelians "are roaming about the whole country, without shelter and work. The Finnish Government has pledged them to hunger and poverty. At present the Karelians are sheltered in sad lodgings and in abandoned sheds. Cattle which few among them possessed had perished for, according to the newspaper Karjala, the authorities had not supplied even the poorest Karelians with fodder."

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1. Buhler, Jean. "Reconstruction en Finlande." Gazette de Lausanne, 22 January 1941.
2. Strode, Hudson. Finland Forever, New York 1941. Thoss, Alfred. "Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neuordnung Europas." Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, March 1941. Buehler, Jean. "Reconstruction en Finlande," Gazette de Lausanne, 22 January 1941.
3. Pravda, 26 January 1942.

The Karelians, too, are not satisfied with the attitude of the government, and claim that they have not always been sufficiently well treated by the rest of the nation.[1]

3. Geographical Distribution of the Evacuated Karelians. Niilo A. Mannio stated that the Karelian refugees have been distributed throughout the country, on the basis of a carefully thought out plan.[2] However, according to available information, pressure brought to bear by the refugees themselves resulted in a deviation from the original plan.

It had been decided to settle the inhabitants of the Karelian Isthmus, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the evacuees, in Central Finland, and to install the population of the Ladoga coast in Vasa on the Gulf of Bothnia. A new monastery was to be erected in Jyvaeskylae, Central Finland, for the monks of the famous Russian monastery of Valaam, formerly situated on an island in Lake Ladoga.[3]

The refugees originating from the Karelian Isthmus, however, insisted that they be settled in Southern Finland. They stubbornly opposed resettlement on new land, in more northern regions, despite the fact that conditions in the

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1. Karjala, Viipuri, 29 September 1943.
2. Reichsarbeitsblatt, 25 November 1942.
3. Posledniya Novosti, 16 March 1940. The New York Times, 15 March 1940.

south were less favorable for the colonization of new settlers. The southern part of the Isthmus is the most densely populated. The installation of the Karelian refugees in this area would have led to a further subdivision of the already intensely cultivated land of this region, thus resulting in the reduction of food production in the face of increased demand. It would also have meant the violation of the law of 1940 which had expressly provided for the extension of the agricultural area of Northern Finland through the reclamation of land.[1]

Nevertheless, it seems that the demands of the Karelians were accepted, at least in part, and many of them were settled in Southern Finland. It has been reported[2] that entire Karelian communities have been installed in the province of Nyland, bordering the Gulf of Finland. This colonization, as well as the resettlement of the Ladoga Karelians on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, brought violent recriminations from the Swedish speaking population of these areas. The Finnish Swedes, who constitute 10 percent of the population of Finland, are settled mainly in the southwest, on the coasts of the Gulfs of Finland and of Bothnia. They feared that an increase of the Finnish element in this almost purely Swedish area would encroach upon their

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1. Geographische Zeitschrift, 1941, No.3, pp.193-194.
2. Thoss, Alfred. "Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neurordnung Europas." Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, March 1941.

interests.[1] They also suspected that the Finns through the introduction of a large Finnish element intended to transform this region into a bi-langual area.[2]

4. Russian Immigration into Annexed Karelia. After the incorporation of Finnish Karelia into the USSR, settlers from various parts of the Soviet were brought into this province. They were settled under the kolkhoz system and by the summer of 1940, that is immediately after the occupation, 98,840 acres (about one seventh of the area formerly tilled), was again under cultivation.[3]

There is no data available as to the number of these Russian settlers. From the size of the area brought under cultivation, it may be inferred that the number of rural settlers was between twenty and thirty thousand. Taking into account the officials and employees of the Soviet state commercial enterprises, who replaced the urban population of Karelia, the total number of Russian immigrants in Karelia may be estimated at from 50,000 to 75,000.

5. Repatriation of the Evacuees into Reconquered Karelia. In June 1941 the war between Finland and the Soviet Union broke out again. The Finns soon recaptured Viipuri, the Karelian Isthmus, and Ladoga Karelia. The return movement

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1. Geographische Zeitschrift, 1941, No.3, pp. 193-194. The New York Times, 9 March 1941.
2. Thoss, Alfred. "Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neuordnung Europas." Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, March 1941.
3. "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.

of the evacuated Karelians began as early as the fall of 1941.[1] It was a spontaneous movement of persons waiting only for a permit to return home. It was effectively supported by the Finnish authorities, who immediately set about the rebuilding of abandoned houses and the restoration of agricultural activity. A secondary aim was the re-establishment of commerce and industry.[2]

By the end of 1941 some 77,000 Karelians had returned home. A second wave of Karelians was repatriated in the spring of 1942.[3] The total number of repatriates as of September 1942 was officially placed at 220,000.[4] A Finnish radio broadcast of 30 June 1943 stated that about six thousand Karelians returned to their homes during the month of May. According to the Finnish Legation, the return movement was practically at a standstill from the winter of 1942-43 to the end of April 1943.[5] According to the information of various welfare centers, the total number of Karelians, who had returned by the beginning of 1943, had only risen to 237,529 persons.[6] On 3 September 1943 Karjala

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1. The New York Times, 28 October 1941. News from Finland, 13 March 1943.
2. "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.
3. News from Finland, 26 January 1943.
4. Social Tidskrift Utgiven av Socialministeriet, Helsinki, No. 9-10, 1942.
5. Letter of the Finnish Legation in Washington, dated 22 Dec. 1943, to the Research Bureau on Population Movements.
6. News from Finland, 6 February 1943.

(Viipuro) reported that as of that date, there were 265,000 Karelians living in the reconquered territories.

The slower pace of repatriation was due mainly to the continuing hostilities. The majority of the returning refugees went to Ladoga Karelia and to the central part of the Karelian Isthmus. In these areas some communities have already recovered as much as 90 percent of their pre-war inhabitants. But along the coast of the Isthmus and the frontier, in areas where the fighting still rages, only a small proportion of the inhabitants have returned.[1]

The housing problem has also proved an obstacle to the repatriation movement. During the Winter War, seventy thousand houses were totally destroyed and forty thousand were damaged.[2] "A terribly large number of villages have been eradicated completely."[3] There were large areas in which even the ruins had been scrapped of all usable building material. Every last stray brick had been utilized for fortifications.[4] Of the refugees who had received permission to return in the summer of 1942, twenty thousand could not be provided with adequate lodging. They were housed in emergency shelters made of roofing felt or in abandoned bunkers, trenches etc.[5] Saunas (bath houses)

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1. News from Finland, 26 February 1943.
2. Transocean, 23 August 1943.
3. Hufvudstadtsbladet, 12 July 1943.
4. Information from Helsinki, 18 August 1942, received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.
5. "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.

were erected as protection against the winter cold.[1] The construction of dwellings was greatly hampered by a dearth of essential building materials, especially nails, and the fact that labor, both skilled and unskilled, was difficult to find.[2] By April 1943, the total number of houses either newly erected or restored, amounted to 10,594,[3] which meant that by that time only 9.6 percent of the destroyed and damaged houses had been restored. By August 1943, 8,500 new buildings had been completed, or 12 percent of the number which had been destroyed.

The labor shortage was also felt in agriculture. According to Hufvudstadtsbladet of 12 July 1943, "the workers are women, old men, youths of sixteen to seventeen years of age, and an occasional soldier on leave." Nevertheless, by August 1943, 60 percent of the arable land was again under cultivation.[4]

The problem of resettling the evacuees on the Northern Karelian Isthmus, brought to the fore the necessity for land redestribution. The Ministry of Agriculture was entrusted with the reparcelling of the land:

"The step has been deemed necessary because in many districts on the Isthmus the farm plots are too small and crowded and disadvantegeously situated. The need of land reform was felt already before the war, so now in connection with the general reconstruction, the opportunity has been seized to put agriculture on the Isthmus on more efficient equitable and profitable bases."[1]

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[1] Information from Helsinki, 18 August 1942, received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

[2] Hufvudstadtsbladet, 12 July 1943.

[3] News from Finland, 9 April 1943.

[4] Transocean, 23 August 1943.

C. Rybachi Peninsula and Salla

The number of refugees who left these thinly populated areas, during the Winter War and after the Moscow treaty, was small. According to the New York Times of 28 March 1940, the evacuation from the area around Petsamo (Rybachi Peninsula), involved "a relatively small number - perhaps several thousand persons, mostly fishing folk." There is no information available with regard to the number of persons evacuated from the parish of Salla (Kunsamo and Salla). However, in view of the character of this area, it could not have been considerable.[2]

In the summer of 1942, these areas were recaptured by the Finns. According to information from Helsinki dated 4 October 1942,[3] the building program of the Lapland Agricultural Association provided for the erection of 220 houses in Petsamo. As of that date, 173 of this number had practically been completed, and the occupants had already moved in. Although the report deals with reconstruction "in the wartorn Arctic harbor area of Petsamo," it does not specify how many of the rebuilt houses belonged to the harbor town of Petsamo itself, which had been destroyed during the Winter War, but had not been ceded to the USSR, and how many belonged to the part of the harbor area (Rybachi peninsula), which had been ceded to the USSR. According to the same source, in the reconquered Salla parish, in the fall of 1942, reconstruction was only just getting under way. Insofar as civilian refugees were allowed to return to their old farms, they were housed in temporary shelters.

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[1] Information from Helsinki, 16 October 1942, received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

[2] The populations of Rybachi Peninsula (the ceded part of the province of Lappi) and Salla (the ceded part of the province of Oulu) constitute only a part of the total population of 23,000 as given by the Finnish Legation (see p.9). The Legation figure includes as well the population of that part of the province Kuopio, bordering the province of Viipuri, with a denser population, which was also ceded to the USSR.

[3] Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

D. Hangö

After the Moscow treaty the some ten thousand inhabitants of the city of Hangö and its vicinity left the area, which was leased to the USSR.[1] On 15 March 1940 the New York Times reported that they "will be distributed in the province of Nyland," which meant that they remained in the neighborhood of Hangö.

On 4 December 1941 Hangö was retaken by the Finns. A year later, according to information from Helsinki, over three thousand inhabitants had returned home.[1] On 9 April 1943 News from Finland reported that 624 dwellings had either been erected or rebuilt in Hangö.

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[1] Tietokalenteri (Calendar of Facts), Helsinki 1941.

III. OTHER POPULATION MOVEMENTS

A. Into Finland

The occupation of Soviet territories by the Finns and Germans precipitated a population movement from these territories into Finland. It was partly a transfer organized by the Finnish Government, and partly an influx of clandestine refugees.

1. Ingermanlanders.[2] In the Ingermanland area the Finnish element was represented by 16,000 (census 1926) Ingri (or Ijora, or Inkeri, or Inkerikot), a Finnish folk-group of Karelian stock. They lived in the Kingisepp district on the lower part of the River Luga, and along the coast of the Gulf of Finland bordering Estonia, in the Leningrad province. But in using the term "Ingermanlanders," both Finnish and Swedish press reports refer not only to the some 16,000 Ingri who lived in the Ingermanland area alone, but also to the entire population of Finnish origin which is scattered over the entire Leningrad area. Thus the total number of Ingermanlanders has been estimated at 150,000. About 78,000 of them resided on German-held territory and constituted considerable

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[1] Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

[2] See Report of the Research Bureau on Population Movements entitled: "Transfer of Ingermanlanders to Finland."

manpower for Germany, and many have indeed been sent to the Reich for work.

The desperate situation of the Ingermanlanders prompted the Finnish Government, early in 1943, to organize a transfer of the Ingermanlanders to Finland. The Finns have been suffering from an acute labor shortage, the result of mobilization and heavy losses suffered during the two wars. This lack of manpower was an added incentive for the government-organized transfer. However, only a small labor force was obtained in this way, as the German authorities permitted mainly the evacuation of women, children, and older persons. But there were some able-bodied adult men among them, and the women, children, and older people were peasants who could be utilized in agriculture.

When the repatriation started, numerous Ingermanlanders had already left their homes; some had been drafted for labor in Germany; others had migrated to Estonia, because of the appalling food shortage, due to the fact that the front lay in the vicinity of the Ingermanland area. Negotiations with the German authorities to repatriate all of the Ingermanlanders on German-held territory were not successful. Up to July 1943, only 14,000 Ingermanlanders had actually been transferred to Finland. The great majority of these came from Estonia. Only a small number came to Finland directly from Ingermanland. The Ingermanlanders at work in Germany were not permitted to go to Finland.

On their arrival in Finland, the evacuees were placed in quarantine camps for a period of three weeks. At the expiration of this period, most of them were installed on farms.[1] According to a Helsinki report in Dagens Nyeter of 17 November 1943, by the summer of 1943, 85 percent of those who had immigrated had already obtained employment in Finland. The majority had been placed in agriculture, although some had also found employment in industry. Some 843 were receiving state assistance.[2] The data on their geographic distribution is contradictory. It has been reported that the Finnish Government was sending them to Hangö Peninsula, whose inhabitants are of Swedish stock, in order to transform this area into a purely Finnish district. In a letter of 13 August 1943 to this Bureau, the Finnish Legation in Washington denied this report.

According to a statement of Professor Pentii Kaitera, chairman of the Evacuation Committee, a second transfer of Ingermanlanders took place after harvest time in the autumn of 1943.[3] There is no available data as to the areas from which these Ingermanlanders were transferred. But it may be assumed that they were among the flood of refugees who, at that time, left the territory along the Leningrad front occupied by Germany. According to Svenska Dagbladet of 8 November 1943, the civilian population of the towns of Kingisepp on the Narva-Leningrad line, Luga on the Pskov-Leningrad line, and Gdov on Lake Peipus had been evacuated by orders of the German High Command. The above towns are located in the area populated by the Ingermanlanders. The Svenska Dagbladet report was denied in a dispatch to Aftonbladet of 8 November 1943, but only in so far as it referred to an evacuation ordered by the German authorities. According to the information received by Aftonbladet from a person who had visited the Leningrad sector of the front, no civilians had been evacuated from German-occupied Ingermanland, with the exception of those voluntarily repatriated to Finland. Thus this report confirms the departure of Ingermanlanders from this area to Finland.

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[1] Maasedun Tulevaisuus, 1 July 1943.
[2] Ny Dagligt Allehanda, 24 October 1943.
[3] Uusi Suomi, 16 November 1943.

This second contingent of Ingermanland evacuees was made up of 14,290 persons. Of this number 20 percent were men, 47 percent were women, and 33 percent were children. Nevertheless, despite the predominance of women and children among them, it is expected that a considerable number of the Ingermanlanders will be placed in industry, as well as in agriculture.[1]

On December 5th, it was reported that the number of Ingermanlanders already transferred to Finland had reached

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1. Suomen Sosialidemokraatti, 16 November 1943.

53,000.[1] This would indicate that in the period between the autumn and December of 1943, a third contingent of some 25,000 Ingermanlanders had been repatriated.

2. Refugees from Estonia. During the past summer some six hundred Estonian Swedes, mostly youths, seeking to escape deportation to Germany or German-occupied countries, had fled Estonia in small boats. Sweden had been their destination, but several vessels, because of lack of fuel, had made the shorter journey to Finland.[2]

More recent reports mention not only Swedes but also numerous other refugees from Estonia who had succeeded in escaping to Finland. As a matter of fact the treatment of Estonian refugees by the State police was the subject of a debate in the Finnish Diet.[3] On 14 December 1943, it was reported from Finland through Stockholm that hundreds of Estonians were arriving in Finland daily, in fishing vessels and other small craft. Most of the refugees were said to be young men escaping military service. There were, however, also many women, children, and elderly men among them, as it was feared that Estonia might become a battleground.[4]

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[1] Kaiku, Oulu, 5 December 1943.

[2] See Report of Research Bureau on Population Movements entitled: "The Fate of the Estonian Swedes."

[3] Pohjolan-Sanomat, Kemi, 21 October 1943.

[4] The New York Times, 15 December 1943.

3. Prisoners of War. On 7 November 1942, Nya Dagligt Allehanda reported that seventy to eighty thousand Russian prisoners had been captured by the Finnish Army during the first sixteen months of the war. Other reports for the same period place the number of prisoners of war at 56,000.[1] Some twenty thousand of this number have died of hunger in the prison camps.[2] According to a statement of 5 December 1942, of the Finnish Legation in Berne, about 12,000 Russian prisoners of war had died in Finland during the year ending July 1942. Furthermore, the Legation stated that the high death rate among the prisoners was a result of the poor physical condition they had been in when captured. It added that a considerable part of the others who died were victims of wounds suffered before capture, and that the death rate had declined since July.

According to a report submitted to the International Red Cross by a surgeon, some five thousand persons died during the period from July to the fall of 1942.[3] Thus the total number of Soviet prisoners in Finland in the fall of 1942 may be estimated at some forty thousand. But as no military operations have taken place and the mortality rate has continued high, despite reports that the Finns are taking excellent care of the prisoners,[4] the total number of prisoners could hardly have increased.

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[1] The New International Year Book for the Year 1942, p.246.
[2] The New York Times, 6 December 1942.
[3] The New York Times, 6 December 1942.
[4] Aftonbladet, Stockholm, 3 October 1943. (Interview with the Catholic Bishop Guillaume Cobben, who had visited a large camp.)

According to the latest information received by this Bureau from the Young Men's Christian Association in New York, there are today some forty thousand Soviet prisoners of war in Finnish captivity.

4. Norwegian Workers. On 7 February 1943, the New York Times reprinted a report which had appeared in Social Demokraten, to the effect that Norwegian workers were being sent by the Germans for forced labor in Finland. According to this report a first contingent of workers had been sent to the Petsamo area. Sydsvenska Dagbladet of 27 April 1943 published the following more detailed information:

"The German troops in North Finland, who have great difficulties in procuring timber, had acquired a forest area in Lapland, but no Finnish labor was available. The Germans offered to procure 'voluntary' Norwegian labor, but the Finnish authorities stipulated that a Finnish representative should privately interview each Norwegian on arrival and obtain a signed declaration of his voluntary enrollment. If he refused to sign and would not return to Norway, he would be allowed to remain in Finland as a political refugee. It is not known how this system worked in practice, but it can be assumed that German pressure on the Norwegians was not confined to their own persons. The maximum number of Norwegians in German labour camps in North Finland is stated to be 150."

B. Out of Finland

1. Finnish Children in Sweden and Denmark. During the Winter War as well as in the course of the present war, Finland has been continuously suffering an acute food shortage. Many Finnish children have therefore been evacuated to Sweden and Denmark, these countries having offered to shelter them for the duration. As a rule their evacuation was considered as temporary, but in some cases it did assume a more permanent character.

Since Finland's entry into the present war, a total of 25,000 Finnish children have been transported to Sweden.[1] The transportation of 21,000 of this number was arranged for by a division created for this purpose in the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs. The rest, numbering some 4,000 were evacuated with the aid of private means.

By the autumn of 1942, 2,500 of these children had already been brought back, and plans had been made for the return of another 2,500. It was announced that only the children whose return had been requested by their parents had been sent back, as the Swedes were willing to shelter them indefinitely. In January 1943, according to the International Labour Office correspondent stationed in Finland, there were twenty thousand Finnish "foster children" in Sweden.[1] In the fall of 1943, their number had dropped to 11,500, according to a radio broadcast from Finland on 5 October 1943.[2] It may be inferred that this decrease was due to the return of older children liable to children's work duty (see below).

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[1] Information of 10 October 1942 received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

The reports concerning Finnish children in Denmark are somewhat contradictory. On 1 February 1943, DNB stated that, because of the precarious food situation in Finland, about 1,200 Finnish children had been sent to Denmark since November 1942; an additional one thousand children were to be sent to Denmark for the duration.[3] At about the same time, the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs, in a message to the Danish-Finland Committee, had placed the number of Finnish children sent to Denmark at three thousand, and had stated that all Finnish children in Denmark must be returned to Finland by May.[4] A report in News from Finland of 22 March 1943, stated more specifically that it was planned to sent all children, born in 1931 or earlier, back to Finland, about the beginning of May, in time for them to take part in the children's summer work projects. The return of children under the minimum age for work duty was said to depend on the will of their parents or guardians. According

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1. The Swedish Press of 13 January 1943 gave 20,562 as the number of Finnish children in Sweden.
2. Arbetaren of 11 October 1943, quoted in a letter received by this Bureau from the Finnish Legation in Washington on 22 December 1943, placed the number of children in Sweden at eight thousand.
3. The New York Times, 2 February 1943.
4. Dagens Nyeter (Stockholm), 21 January 1943.

to information received by this Bureau from the Finnish Legation in Washington there were, in May 1943, some two thousand children in Denmark. They were scheduled to spend at least the summer with their Danish hosts. The Legation has no figures on the number of Finnish children remaining in Denmark after the summer of 1943.

2. Finnish Workers Abroad. The very small number of Finnish workers in Germany finds its explanation in the fact that Finland's manpower shortage, which made itself felt after the Winter War, became even greater after Finland's entry into the present war.

According to the Reichsarbeitsblatt of 15 July 1941, as of 1 April 1941, there were only two hundred Finnish workers in the Reich. A list of 25 September 1941 of foreign labor employed in Germany did not even indicate the number of Finnish workers. They were probably included in the total figure of workers from various unspecified countries. According to United Nations intelligence reports received in London, there were two thousand Finnish workers in Germany in the spring of 1942.[1] In August-September 1942, according to information given to the International Labour Office by the Board of Economic Warfare, their number was nine hundred. There is no more recent data available on this subject.

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1. The New York Times, 3 May 1942.

Table No.1 THE POPULATION DISPLACEMENT OF FINLAND 1939-1943

Period	Area of Origin	Number	Group Displaced	Area of Reception
1939-40	Finnish Karelia (ceded to USSR)	400,000	Karelian evacuees	inner Finland
1941-43	inner Finland	250,000	repatriated Karelians	Finnish Karelia
1939-40	Hangö	10,000	Finnish evacuees	inner Finland
1941-43	inner Finland	3,000	repatriated Finns	Hangö
1939-40	Rybachi Peninsula and Salla	several thousand	Finnish evacuees	inner Finland
1941-43	inner Finland	unknown number	repatriated Finns	Rybachi Peninsula and Salla
1941-43	USSR	40,000	Soviet prisoners of war	Finland
1943	Estonia and German-helf Soviet territories	53,000	Ingermanlanders	Finland
1943	Estonia	unknown number	Swedes and Estonians	Finland
1942-43	Finland	8,000	Finnish children	Sweden
1942-43	Finland	2,000	" "	Denmark

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I. INTRODUCTION

According to the 1930 census, Finland had a population of 3,463,000. On 1 January 1940, the population of the pre-war area was estimated at 3,684,000. The natural increase was moderate (6.5 per thousand in 1939).[1]

Since 1939, Finland has been engaged in two wars with the USSR. The Winter War lasted from 30 November 1939 to 12 March 1940. In June 1941 Finland became an ally of Germany, joining in the battle against the Soviet Union.

Finland's main population displacement involved the Karelians. Some four hundred thousand Karelians were evacuated to inner Finland either during, or immediately after, the Winter War from Finnish (or Western) Karelia which was ceded to Russia. In 1941 after the reconquest of this area, some 250,000 Karelian refugees returned home.

The Finnish casualties suffered during the Winter War have been estimated at 66,000. Of this number 23,000 were killed and the rest wounded. There is no official information on the Finnish losses of this war, but according to Berlinske Tidende of 28 July 1943 "they are said to equal those of the first war, and they may even be larger." These

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1. Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations, Geneva, 1941.

losses have left a tremendous gap in Finland's working male population.

Thus because of the acute labor shortage, brought about through mobilization and war losses, as well as the increased demands of war industry, Finland has willingly accepted immigrants of Finnish origin. However, this influx consisted mainly of women and children, who were utilized for agricultural work. Some 53,000 Ingermanlanders were also transferred to Finland, and an unascertained number of refugees from Estonia have found asylum there.

Another large group of persons brought into Finland are the some forty thousand Russian prisoners of war.

The tremendous manpower shortage also influenced the departure of persons from Finland. There are few, if any, Finnish workers in Germany. Finnish children evacuated to Sweden and Denmark were called home at planting time, if they were in the age groups liable for children's work duty. The number of children who remained in Sweden and Denmark may be estimated at some ten thousand.

German pressure brought to bear on the Finns, in order that they take measures against foreign Jews (refugees who had come to Finland from Russia after the Bolshevist revolution, from Nazi Germany, and from other countries), encountered strong opposition in Finnish public opinion, and had no results.[1]

A small number of Finnish deserters fled to Sweden. Those found to be political refugees were permitted to remain in Sweden; the others were handed over to the Finnish authorities.[2]

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[1] *Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews*, published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, 1943, pp.224-225.

[2] *Dagens Nyeter*, 13 October 1943.

II. EVACUATION, RESETTLEMENT, AND REPATRIATION OF POPULATIONS IN AREAS CEDED TO THE USSR IN MARCH 1940

A. Background

The war between Finland and Russia, known as the Winter War, started on 30 November 1939. On 12 March 1940, a treaty was signed in Moscow under the terms of which Finland ceded the following territories to the USSR:

(a) the Karelian Isthmus, including the Eastern Islands in the Gulf of Finland, the city of Viipuri (Viborg) and the region around Lake Ladoga;

(b) part of the communes of Kunsamo and Salla, centered on Finland's eastern frontier;

(c) the western part of the Rybachi peninsula situated on the Arctic.

Furthermore, both the fortress city and the peninsula of Hangö (Hanko), situated between the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia, as well as the surrounding islands of the peninsula, were leased to the USSR for a period of thirty years.

The Karelian Isthumus (including Viipuri, the second largest city in Finland) and Ladoga Karelia, the region around Lake Ladoga, were among Finland's most thickly populated areas. The other eastern border territories, ceded to Russia, were very sparsely populated, containing a total population of only a few thousand. The Hangö peninsula and the surrounding islands contained about ten thousand inhabitants.

B. Karelia

1. *Evacuation from Karelia of 1939-40*. The Moscow treaty permitted persons desiring to leave the ceded territories to do so within a very limited period of time. However, only about one fourth of the Karelians left for the interior of Finland under the terms of this treaty, as the vast majority had already been evacuated during the hostilities.[1] According to a *Tass* report from Stockholm, "as early as 1939 the Finnish authorities had forcibly evacuated to the interior over 350,000 Karelians."[2] The number who left after the peace had been declared has been estimated at one hundred thousand.[3] Although the peace treaty made no mention of compulsory removal, almost all the remaining Karelians left the ceded territories.

Newspaper reports for that period, as well as other sources, generally place the total number of evacuees at 450,000. This figure has also been accepted by such well-known experts as Niilo A. Mannio, State Secretary of the Finnish Ministry of Social Works,[4] and Eljas Kahra, Chief of Division in the Finnish Ministry of Communications and

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1. *The New York Times*, 15 March 1940.
2. *Pravda*, 26 January 1942.
3. *The New York Times*, 28 March 1942.
4. "*Finnische Sozialpolitik waehrend der Kriege*." *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 25 November 1942.

Public Works.[1] President Ryti in a speech at Abo, according to an official Finnish broadcast of 6 December 1943, stated that as many as 470,000 Karelians had left their homes and returned to Finland.

Nevertheless there are indications that this figure greatly surpasses the actual number of persons evacuated. The Finnish Ministry of Social Works placed the total population of the ceded Karelian territory (Karelian Isthmus and Ladoga Karelia) before the war, at only some 420,000.[2] News from Finland of 26 January 1943 published an even lower figure. A report on the return movement into reconquered Karelia stated that "by the end of last year the civilian population of West Karelia had risen to 233,000 souls in number, representing 56 percent of the total pre-war population of the territory."[3] This would imply a pre-war population of 415,000.

On 14 March 1940, Jaho Koivisto, Assistant Minister of Agriculture, stated that only 1 percent of the population of the ceded areas had decided to remain under the Russian regime.[4] The following day, the New York Times Helsinki correspondent cabled that practically the entire population of the ceded districts had chosen to move.[5] An article published in Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft entitled "Wiederaufbau Kareliens," stated that "hardly a Karelian family remained behind."[1] According to News from Finland of 13 March 1943 "only four or perhaps five misguided souls out of the native population of half a million remained behind to greet the barbaric hordes of the East." And in the above mentioned speech President Ryti stated that "only twenty people remained voluntarily to live under the Russian regime."[2] Thus it would seem that the total number of persons evacuated was from 415,000 to 420,000, rather than 450,000 to 470,000. However, even these figures are too high when considered in the light of data on the return movement to Karelia in 1942-43, after that territory was reconquered.

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[1] "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941.
[2] Social Tidskrift Utgiven av Socialministeriet, Helsinki, No.9-10, 1942.
[3] News from Finland, 26 January 1943.
[4] The New York Times, 15 March 1940.
[5] The New York Times, 16 March 1940.

On 29 November 1942, a Helsinki dispatch quoting the Finnish Refugees Relief Bureau announced that by the end of October, 232,323 Karelians had returned to their old homes, while "the number of Finns still living a refugee existence was 161,484."[3] According to these figures the total number of Karelian refugees was about 394,000. News from Finland of 6 February 1943 gave 237,529 and 149,199 respectively as the figures for those who returned home and those still abroad,

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1. "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.
2. Official Finnish Broadcast, 6 December 1943.
3. Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

and a Helsinki dispatch of 6 May 1943 spoke of 250,000 and 138,000,[1] making a total of some 387,000 or 388,000 refugees.

Taking into account the hardships which the refugees had been forced to undergo, both en route and at their final destination, on the one hand, and on the other hand the fact that there have been no reports of mass mortality, the number of Karelian refugees may be estimated at 400,000 or at 95 to 97 percent of the pre-war population of the province. This would leave some 15,000 to 20,000 Karelians who had remained under the Soviet regime. This Bureau asked the Finnish Legation in Washington for any data which might explain the discrepancy between the accepted figure of 450,000 Karelian refugees, and the considerably lower figures on the Karelian population, as well as on the number of refugees arrived at as a result of the above mentioned data. T.O. Vahervuori, Counselor of Legation, gave the following explanation:

"I believe that the contradiction may be at least partly explained by the fact that the total number of people - some 450,000 in round figures - who migrated from their homes as a result of the Moscow peace in March 1940 did not cover only Karelians but also other inhabitants in certain other parts of Finland immediately affected by the peace terms. For example, all residents of the city of Hanko and surrounding territory, 'leased' to Russia for 30 years, had to seek new homes elsewhere in the country. They numbered about 10,000. In addition to the ceded area located within the Province of Viipuri (West Karelia), certain communities or parts of communities located further north, within the Province of Kuopio, Oulu, and Lappi, were also ceded to Russia, and their inhabitants - totalling some 23,000 - were likewise evacuated. Thus the number of strictly 'Karelian' evacuees was not more than 417,000. And this number has no doubt been subsequently reduced by quite a few deaths among the evacuees, many of whom were old people in poor health."

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[1] Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

After the Moscow treaty, during the short period allotted to the refugees before the evacuation, persons who had previously left Karelia were also permitted to return home for the purpose of assembling their belongings. Nevertheless, conditions were such that they were unable to take very much with them. The evacuation was started on March 14th and was completed between March 21st and 27th.[1] "Automobiles, trains and wagons from all parts of Finland moved towards the lost districts to help with the evacuation. Despite this, there was a great scarcity of vehicles."[2] According

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1. The New York Times, 15,16,22,and 28 March 1940.
2. The New York Times, 16 March 1940.

to Eljas Kahra in the previously mentioned article[1] the evacuees "had very little opportunity to take any kind of property with them. Their cattle had already been evacuated; but apart from that, all that could be saved was perhaps their money, but very little else."

2. Resettlement of the Evacuated Karelians. The resettlement of some four hundred thousand people and their economic reintegration presented a difficult task for a nation with a total population of only 3,684,000 persons. The problem was twofold due to the occupational structure of the evacuees. Assuming that they constituted a mass of 450,000 persons, Eljas Kahra estimated that about 180,000 or about two fifth belonged to the agrarian population, while some 270,000 were engaged in other occupations. Although Kahra's absolute figures are exaggerated, they indicate roughly the main occupational distribution of the evacuated Karelians.

Recognizing the necessity of installing the farmer population so that they could continue to earn a livelihood as an agricultural group, the Finnish Government introduced a Bill which enabled the speedy settlement of the transferred population on the land. This Bill was passed by the Finnish Parliament and went into effect on 28 June 1942.[2] Under its

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1. "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941.
2. "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941.

provisions, any adult Finnish citizen who moves into Finland, or is transferred from an area bordering the new national frontier, and who had in the past derived a livelihood from, possessed a dwelling on, or earned part of his living from the land or from fishing, either as the owner, or part-owner of a holding, or as the tenant of a state holding in his former place of domicile, is under the terms of this Act entitled to a priority right in accordance with the existing Land Settlement Act, as well as to loans issued out of land settlement funds. In addition, he has certain rights to land as provided for by the Act of 28 June 1940.

Property designated for this purpose in each locality was primarily state land; the process of settlement was simplified by the fact that 40 percent of Finland's territory belonged to the state.[1] In districts where the state-owned land was inappropriate or insufficient, the necessary property was obtained first through voluntary transfer, and as a last resort by the expropriation of land belonging to churches, communities, corporations, and various other organizations, or to persons deriving their main income from non-agricultural occupations or not residing on their properties, as well as neglected holdings and so on.

The resettlement scheme provided for the creation of 38,818 new holdings, for which purpose 818,528 acres

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1. Buhler, Jean. "Reconstruction en Finlande." Gazette de Lausanne, 22 January 1941.

of already cultivated or arable land were needed. By the end of 1940, after only four months of activity, 6,678 new holdings had already been created, and 4,208 more had been staked off. These figures do not include holdings acquired by evacuated farmers through private purchases financed out of state funds.[1] The settlement authorities had also undertaken the extensive drainage and reclamation of land set aside for future colonization; evacuated Karelians were employed on this project.[2]

However, peasants constituted only a minority of the evacuees. The majority of them were persons who had previously earned a living from industry, commerce, the handicrafts, the liberal professions, building and other trades. The task of providing a means of livelihood for this section of the population was particularly difficult in 1940, because Finland's trade had been crippled as a result of the fact that her lanes of commerce lay directly in the war zone. Industry on the Finnish side of the new frontier was finding it difficult to provide sufficient work for its own labor force, and there was little left for the evacuees. Furthermore, it had only been possible to move some of the industries from the ceded areas to

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1. "Reconstruction in Finland." International Labour Review, May 1941. There are no figures available for 1941. This may be explained by the fact that since the autumn of 1941 the return movement to Karelia has been in progress (see p. 10).
2. Thoss, Alfred. "Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neuordnung Europas." Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, March 1941.

inner Finland. Thus it had been necessary to retrain workers so as to be able to direct them to other branches of activity. As a stopgap, they were given employment on various kinds of state-organized construction work, such as road and bridge building, and railway construction.[1]

Finnish non-Karelian observers, as well as foreigners,[2] have emphasized the tremendous rehabilitation job, accomplished by the Finnish Government over a short period of time, despite the blows endured by Finland's economy in the Winter War and the general difficulties resulting from the World War.

Soviet sources, on the other hand, have sharply criticized the policy of the Finnish Government with regard to the resettlement of the Karelians. A *Tass* dispatch from Stockholm of 24 January 1942,[3] reported that since their evacuation, the Karelians "are roaming about the whole country, without shelter and work. The Finnish Government has pledged them to hunger and poverty. At present the Karelians are sheltered in sad lodgings and in abandoned sheds. Cattle which few among them possessed had perished for, according to the newspaper *Karjala*, the authorities had not supplied even the poorest Karelians with fodder."

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1. Buhler, Jean. "*Reconstruction en Finlande*." *Gazette de Lausanne*, 22 January 1941.
2. Strode, Hudson. *Finland Forever*, New York 1941. Thoss, Alfred. "*Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neuordnung Europas*." *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik*, March 1941. Buehler, Jean. "*Reconstruction en Finlande*," *Gazette de Lausanne*, 22 January 1941.
3. *Pravda*, 26 January 1942.

The Karelians, too, are not satisfied with the attitude of the government, and claim that they have not always been sufficiently well treated by the rest of the nation.[1]

3. Geographical Distribution of the Evacuated Karelians. Niilo A. Mannio stated that the Karelian refugees have been distributed throughout the country, on the basis of a carefully thought out plan.[2] However, according to available information, pressure brought to bear by the refugees themselves resulted in a deviation from the original plan.

It had been decided to settle the inhabitants of the Karelian Isthmus, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the evacuees, in Central Finland, and to install the population of the Ladoga coast in Vasa on the Gulf of Bothnia. A new monastery was to be erected in Jyvaeskylae, Central Finland, for the monks of the famous Russian monastery of Valaam, formerly situated on an island in Lake Ladoga.[3]

The refugees originating from the Karelian Isthmus, however, insisted that they be settled in Southern Finland. They stubbornly opposed resettlement on new land, in more northern regions, despite the fact that conditions in the

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1. Karjala, Viipuri, 29 September 1943.
2. Reichsarbeitsblatt, 25 November 1942.
3. Posledniya Novosti, 16 March 1940. The New York Times, 15 March 1940.

south were less favorable for the colonization of new settlers. The southern part of the Isthmus is the most densely populated. The installation of the Karelian refugees in this area would have led to a further subdivision of the already intensely cultivated land of this region, thus resulting in the reduction of food production in the face of increased demand. It would also have meant the violation of the law of 1940 which had expressly provided for the extension of the agricultural area of Northern Finland through the reclamation of land.[1]

Nevertheless, it seems that the demands of the Karelians were accepted, at least in part, and many of them were settled in Southern Finland. It has been reported[2] that entire Karelian communities have been installed in the province of Nyland, bordering the Gulf of Finland. This colonization, as well as the resettlement of the Ladoga Karelians on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, brought violent recriminations from the Swedish speaking population of these areas. The Finnish Swedes, who constitute 10 percent of the population of Finland, are settled mainly in the southwest, on the coasts of the Gulfs of Finland and of Bothnia. They feared that an increase of the Finnish element in this almost purely Swedish area would encroach upon their

Swedish speaking Finns

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[1] *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 1941, No.3, pp.193-194.

[2] Thoss, Alfred. "*Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neurordnung Europas.*" *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik*, March 1941.

interests.[1] They also suspected that the Finns through the introduction of a large Finnish element intended to transform this region into a bi-langual area.[2]

4. Russian Immigration into Annexed Karelia. After the incorporation of Finnish Karelia into the USSR, settlers from various parts of the Soviet were brought into this province. They were settled under the kolkhoz system and by the summer of 1940, that is immediately after the occupation, 98,840 acres (about one seventh of the area formerly tilled), was again under cultivation.[3]

There is no data available as to the number of these Russian settlers. From the size of the area brought under cultivation, it may be inferred that the number of rural settlers was between twenty and thirty thousand. Taking into account the officials and employees of the Soviet state commercial enterprises, who replaced the urban population of Karelia, the total number of Russian immigrants in Karelia may be estimated at from 50,000 to 75,000.

5. Repatriation of the Evacuees into Reconquered Karelia. In June 1941 the war between Finland and the Soviet Union broke out again. The Finns soon recaptured Viipuri, the Karelian Isthmus, and Ladoga Karelia. The return movement

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[1] Geographische Zeitschrift, 1941, No.3, pp. 193-194. The New York Times, 9 March 1941.

[2] Thoss, Alfred. "Die Umsiedlungen und Optionen im Rahmen der Neuordnung Europas." Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, March 1941.

[3] "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.

of the evacuated Karelians began as early as the fall of 1941.[1] It was a spontaneous movement of persons waiting only for a permit to return home. It was effectively supported by the Finnish authorities, who immediately set about the rebuilding of abandoned houses and the restoration of agricultural activity. A secondary aim was the re-establishment of commerce and industry.[2]

By the end of 1941 some 77,000 Karelians had returned home. A second wave of Karelians was repatriated in the spring of 1942.[3] The total number of repatriates as of September 1942 was officially placed at 220,000.[4] A Finnish radio broadcast of 30 June 1943 stated that about six thousand Karelians returned to their homes during the month of May. According to the Finnish Legation, the return movement was practically at a standstill from the winter of 1942-43 to the end of April 1943.[5] According to the information of various welfare centers, the total number of Karelians, who had returned by the beginning of 1943, had only risen to 237,529 persons.[6] On 3 September 1943 Karjala

Source?

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1. The New York Times, 28 October 1941. News from Finland, 13 March 1943. ?
2. "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.
3. News from Finland, 26 January 1943.
4. Social Tidskrift Utgiven av Socialministeriet, Helsinki, No. 9-10, 1942.
5. Letter of the Finnish Legation in Washington, dated 22 Dec. 1943, to the Research Bureau on Population Movements.
6. News from Finland, 6 February 1943.

(Viipuro) reported that as of that date, there were 265,000 Karelians living in the reconquered territories.

The slower pace of repatriation was due mainly to the continuing hostilities. The majority of the returning refugees went to Ladoga Karelia and to the central part of the Karelian Isthmus. In these areas some communities have already recovered as much as 90 percent of their pre-war inhabitants. But along the coast of the Isthmus and the frontier, in areas where the fighting still rages, only a small proportion of the inhabitants have returned.[1]

The housing problem has also proved an obstacle to the repatriation movement. During the Winter War, seventy thousand houses were totally destroyed and forty thousand were damaged.[2] "A terribly large number of villages have been eradicated completely."[3] There were large areas in which even the ruins had been scrapped of all usable building material. Every last stray brick had been utilized for fortifications.[4] Of the refugees who had received permission to return in the summer of 1942, twenty thousand could not be provided with adequate lodging. They were housed in emergency shelters made of roofing felt or in abandoned bunkers, trenches etc.[5] Saunas (bath houses)

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1. News from Finland, 26 February 1943.
2. Transocean, 23 August 1943.
3. Hufvudstadtsbladet, 12 July 1943.
4. Information from Helsinki, 18 August 1942, received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.
5. "Wiederaufbau Kareliens." Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, No.5, February 1943.

were erected as protection against the winter cold.[1] The construction of dwellings was greatly hampered by a dearth of essential building materials, especially nails, and the fact that labor, both skilled and unskilled, was difficult to find.[2] By April 1943, the total number of houses either newly erected or restored, amounted to 10,594,[3] which meant that by that time only 9.6 percent of the destroyed and damaged houses had been restored. By August 1943, 8,500 new buildings had been completed, or 12 percent of the number which had been destroyed.

The labor shortage was also felt in agriculture. According to Hufvudstadtsbladet of 12 July 1943, "the workers are women, old men, youths of sixteen to seventeen years of age, and an occasional soldier on leave." Nevertheless, by August 1943, 60 percent of the arable land was again under cultivation.[4]

The problem of resettling the evacuees on the Northern Karelian Isthmus, brought to the fore the necessity for land redestribution. The Ministry of Agriculture was entrusted with the reparcelling of the land:

"The step has been deemed necessary because in many districts on the Isthmus the farm plots are too small and

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1. Information from Helsinki, 18 August 1942, received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.
2. Hufvudstadtsbladet, 12 July 1943.
3. News from Finland, 9 April 1943.
4. Transocean, 23 August 1943.

crowded and disadvantegeously situated. The need of land reform was felt already before the war, so now in connection with the general reconstruction, the opportunity has been seized to put agriculture on the Isthmus on more efficient equitable and profitable bases."[1]

C. Rybachi Peninsula and Salla

The number of refugees who left these thinly populated areas, during the Winter War and after the Moscow treaty, was small. According to the New York Times of 28 March 1940, the evacuation from the area around Petsamo (Rybachi Peninsula), involved "a relatively small number - perhaps several thousand persons, mostly fishing folk." There is no information available with regard to the number of persons evacuated from the parish of Salla (Kunsamo Kuusamo and Salla). However, in view of the character of this area, it could not have been considerable.[2]

In the summer of 1942, these areas were recaptured by the Finns. According to information from Helsinki dated 4 October 1942,[3] the building program of the Lapland Agri-

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1. Information from Helsinki, 16 October 1942, received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.
2. The populations of Rybachi Peninsula (the ceded part of the province of Lappi) and Salla (the ceded part of the province of Oulu) constitute only a part of the total population of 23,000 as given by the Finnish Legation (see p.9). The Legation figure includes as well the population of that part of the province Kuopio, bordering the province of Viipuri, with a denser population, which was also ceded to the USSR.
3. Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

cultural Association provided for the erection of 220 houses in Petsamo. As of that date, 173 of this number had practically been completed, and the occupants had already moved in. Although the report deals with reconstruction "in the wartorn Arctic harbor area of Petsamo," it does not specify how many of the rebuilt houses belonged to the harbor town of Petsamo itself, which had been destroyed during the Winter War, but had not been ceded to the USSR, and how many belonged to the part of the harbor area (Rybachi peninsula), which had been ceded to the USSR. According to the same source, in the reconquered Salla parish, in the fall of 1942, reconstruction was only just getting under way. Insofar as civilian refugees were allowed to return to their old farms, they were housed in temporary shelters.

Liinahamari

North

D. Hangö

After the Moscow treaty the some ten thousand inhabitants of the city of Hangö and its vicinity left the area, which was leased to the USSR.[1] On 15 March 1940 the New York Times reported that they "will be distributed in the province of Nyland," which meant that they remained in the neighborhood of Hangö.

On 4 December 1941 Hangö was retaken by the Finns. A year later, according to information from Helsinki, over three thousand inhabitants had returned home.[1] On 9 April 1943 News from Finland reported that 624 dwellings had either been erected or rebuilt in Hangö.

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[1] Tietokalenteri (Calendar of Facts), Helsinki 1941.

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III. OTHER POPULATION MOVEMENTS

A. Into Finland

The occupation of Soviet territories by the Finns and Germans precipitated a population movement from these territories into Finland. It was partly a transfer organized by the Finnish Government, and partly an influx of clandestine refugees.

1. Ingermanlanders.[2] In the Ingermanland area the Finnish element was represented by 16,000 (census 1926) Ingri (or Ijora, or Inkeri, or Inkerikot), a Finnish folk-group of Karelian stock. They lived in the Kingisepp district on the lower part of the River Luga, and along the coast of the Gulf of Finland bordering Estonia, in the Leningrad province. But in using the term "Ingermanlanders," both Finnish and Swedish press reports refer not only to the some 16,000 Ingri who lived in the Ingermanland area alone, but also to the entire population of Finnish origin which is scattered over the entire Leningrad area. Thus the total number of Ingermanlanders has been estimated at 150,000. About 78,000 of them resided on German-held territory and constituted considerable

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[1] Information received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

[2] See Report of the Research Bureau on Population Movements entitled: "Transfer of Ingermanlanders to Finland."

manpower for Germany, and many have indeed been sent to the Reich for work.

The desperate situation of the Ingermanlanders prompted the Finnish Government, early in 1943, to organize a transfer of the Ingermanlanders to Finland. The Finns have been suffering from an acute labor shortage, the result of mobilization and heavy losses suffered during the two wars. This lack of manpower was an added incentive for the government-organized transfer. However, only a small labor force was obtained in this way, as the German authorities permitted mainly the evacuation of women, children, and older persons. But there were some able-bodied adult men among them, and the women, children, and older people were peasants who could be utilized in agriculture.

When the repatriation started, numerous Ingermanlanders had already left their homes; some had been drafted for labor in Germany; others had migrated to Estonia, because of the appalling food shortage, due to the fact that the front lay in the vicinity of the Ingermanland area. Negotiations with the German authorities to repatriate all of the Ingermanlanders on German-held territory were not successful. Up to July 1943, only 14,000 Ingermanlanders had actually been transferred to Finland. The great majority of these came from Estonia. Only a small number came to Finland directly from Ingermanland. The Ingermanlanders at work in Germany were not permitted to go to Finland.

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On their arrival in Finland, the evacuees were placed in quarantine camps for a period of three weeks. At the expiration of this period, most of them were installed on farms.[1] According to a Helsinki report in Dagens Nyheter of 17 November 1943, by the summer of 1943, 85 percent of those who had immigrated had already obtained employment in Finland. The majority had been placed in agriculture, although some had also found employment in industry. Some 843 were receiving state assistance.[2] The data on their geographic distribution is contradictory. It has been reported that the Finnish Government was sending them to Hangö Peninsula, whose inhabitants are of Swedish stock, in order to transform this area into a purely Finnish district. In a letter of 13 August 1943 to this Bureau, the Finnish Legation in Washington denied this report.

see News Digest Nr. 1295

According to a statement of Professor Pentti Kaitera, chairman of the Evacuation Committee, a second transfer of Ingermanlanders took place after harvest time in the autumn of 1943.[3] There is no available data as to the areas from which these Ingermanlanders were transferred. But it may be assumed that they were among the flood of refugees who, at that time, left the territory along the Leningrad front occupied by Germany. According

see News Digest No 1295, Nov. 17, '43

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1. Maasedun Tulevaisuus, 1 July 1943.
2. Ny Dagligt Allehanda, 24 October 1943.
3. Uusi Suomi, 16 November 1943.

to *Svenska Dagbladet* of 8 November 1943, the civilian population of the towns of Kingisepp on the Narva-Leningrad line, Luga on the Pskov-Leningrad line, and Gdov on Lake Peipus had been evacuated by orders of the German High Command. The above towns are located in the area populated by the Ingermanlanders. The *Svenska Dagbladet* report was denied in a dispatch to *Aftonbladet* of 8 November 1943, but only in so far as it referred to an evacuation ordered by the German authorities. According to the information received by *Aftonbladet* from a person who had visited the Leningrad sector of the front, no civilians had been evacuated from German-occupied Ingermanland, with the exception of those voluntarily repatriated to Finland. Thus this report confirms the departure of Ingermanlanders from this area to Finland.

This second contingent of Ingermanland evacuees was made up of 14,290 persons. Of this number 20 percent were men, 47 percent were women, and 33 percent were children. Nevertheless, despite the predominance of women and children among them, it is expected that a considerable number of the Ingermanlanders will be placed in industry, as well as in agriculture.[1]

On December 5th, it was reported that the number of Ingermanlanders already transferred to Finland had reached

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[1] *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, 16 November 1943.

News Digest, No. 1295

53,000.[1] This would indicate that in the period between the autumn and December of 1943, a third contingent of some 25,000 Ingermanlanders had been repatriated.

2. Refugees from Estonia. During the past summer some six hundred Estonian Swedes, mostly youths, seeking to escape deportation to Germany or German-occupied countries, had fled Estonia in small boats. Sweden had been their destination, but several vessels, because of lack of fuel, had made the shorter journey to Finland.[2]

More recent reports mention not only Swedes but also numerous other refugees from Estonia who had succeeded in escaping to Finland. As a matter of fact the treatment of Estonian refugees by the State police was the subject of a debate in the Finnish Diet.[3] On 14 December 1943, it was reported from Finland through Stockholm that hundreds of Estonians were arriving in Finland daily, in fishing vessels and other small craft. Most of the refugees were said to be young men escaping military service. There were, however, also many women, children, and elderly men among them, as it was feared that Estonia might become a battleground.[4]

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1. Kaiku, Oulu, 5 December 1943.
2. See Report of Research Bureau on Population Movements entitled: "The Fate of the Estonian Swedes."
3. Pohjolan-Sanomat, Kemi, 21 October 1943.
4. The New York Times, 15 December 1943.

3. Prisoners of War. On 7 November 1942, Nya Dagligt Allehanda reported that seventy to eighty thousand Russian prisoners had been captured by the Finnish Army during the first sixteen months of the war. Other reports for the same period place the number of prisoners of war at 56,000.[1] Some twenty thousand of this number have died of hunger in the prison camps.[2] According to a statement of 5 December 1942, of the Finnish Legation in Berne, about 12,000 Russian prisoners of war had died in Finland during the year ending July 1942. Furthermore, the Legation stated that the high death rate among the prisoners was a result of the poor physical condition they had been in when captured. It added that a considerable part of the others who died were victims of wounds suffered before capture, and that the death rate had declined since July.

According to a report submitted to the International Red Cross by a surgeon, some five thousand persons died during the period from July to the fall of 1942.[3] Thus the total number of Soviet prisoners in Finland in the fall of 1942 may be estimated at some forty thousand. But as no military operations have taken place and the mortality rate has continued high, despite reports that the Finns are taking excellent care of the prisoners,[4] the total number

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[1] The New International Year Book for the Year 1942, p.246.
[2] The New York Times, 6 December 1942.
[3] The New York Times, 6 December 1942.
[4] Aftonbladet, Stockholm, 3 October 1943. (Interview with the Catholic Bishop Guillaume Cobben, who had visited a large camp.)

of prisoners could hardly have increased.

According to the latest information received by this Bureau from the Young Men's Christian Association in New York, there are today some forty thousand Soviet prisoners of war in Finnish captivity.

4. Norwegian Workers. On 7 February 1943, the New York Times reprinted a report which had appeared in Social Demokraten, to the effect that Norwegian workers were being sent by the Germans for forced labor in Finland. According to this report a first contingent of workers had been sent to the Petsamo area. Sydsvenska Dagbladet of 27 April 1943 published the following more detailed information:

"The German troops in North Finland, who have great difficulties in procuring timber, had acquired a forest area in Lapland, but no Finnish labor was available. The Germans offered to procure 'voluntary' Norwegian labor, but the Finnish authorities stipulated that a Finnish representative should privately interview each Norwegian on arrival and obtain a signed declaration of his voluntary enrollment. If he refused to sign and would not return to Norway, he would be allowed to remain in Finland as a political refugee. It is not known how this system worked in practice, but it can be assumed that German pressure on the Norwegians was not confined to their own persons. The maximum number of Norwegians in German labour camps in North Finland is stated to be 150."

B. Out of Finland

1. Finnish Children in Sweden and Denmark. During the Winter War as well as in the course of the present war, Finland has been continuously suffering an acute food shortage. Many Finnish children have therefore been evacuated to Sweden and Denmark, these countries having offered to shelter them for the duration. As a rule their evacuation was considered as temporary, but in some cases it did assume a more permanent character.

Since Finland's entry into the present war, a total of 25,000 Finnish children have been transported to Sweden.[1] The transportation of 21,000 of this number was arranged for by a division created for this purpose in the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs. The rest, numbering some 4,000 were evacuated with the aid of private means.

By the autumn of 1942, 2,500 of these children had already been brought back, and plans had been made for the return of another 2,500. It was announced that only the children whose return had been requested by their parents had been sent back, as the Swedes were willing to shelter them indefinitely. In January 1943, according to the International Labour Office correspondent stationed in Finland, there were twenty thousand Finnish "foster children" in Sweden.[1] In the fall of 1943, their number had dropped to 11,500, according to a radio broadcast from Finland on 5 October 1943.[2] It may be inferred that this decrease was due to the return of older children liable to children's work duty (see below).

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[1] Information of 10 October 1942 received by the International Labour Office from the Finnish Legation in Washington.

The reports concerning Finnish children in Denmark are somewhat contradictory. On 1 February 1943, DNB stated that, because of the precarious food situation in Finland, about 1,200 Finnish children had been sent to Denmark since November 1942; an additional one thousand children were to be sent to Denmark for the duration.[3] At about the same time, the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs, in a message to the Danish-Finland Committee, had placed the number of Finnish children sent to Denmark at three thousand, and had stated that all Finnish children in Denmark must be returned to Finland by May.[4] A report in News from Finland of 22 March 1943, stated more specifically that it was planned to sent all children, born in 1931 or earlier, back to Finland, about the beginning of May, in time for them to take part in the children's summer work projects. The return of children under the minimum age for work duty was said to depend on the will of their parents or guardians. According to information received by this Bureau from the Finnish Legation in Washington there were, in May 1943, some two thousand children in Denmark. They were scheduled to spend at least the summer with their Danish hosts. The Legation has no figures on the number of Finnish children remaining in Denmark after the summer of 1943.

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[1] The Swedish Press of 13 January 1943 gave 20,562 as the number of Finnish children in Sweden.

[2] Arbetaren of 11 October 1943, quoted in a letter received by this Bureau from the Finnish Legation in Washington on 22 December 1943, placed the number of children in Sweden at eight thousand.

[3] The New York Times, 2 February 1943.

[4] Dagens Nyeter (Stockholm), 21 January 1943.

2. Finnish Workers Abroad. The very small number of Finnish workers in Germany finds its explanation in the fact that Finland's manpower shortage, which made itself felt after the Winter War, became even greater after Finland's entry into the present war.

According to the Reichsarbeitsblatt of 15 July 1941, as of 1 April 1941, there were only two hundred Finnish workers in the Reich. A list of 25 September 1941 of foreign labor employed in Germany did not even indicate the number of Finnish workers. They were probably included in the total figure of workers from various unspecified countries. According to United Nations intelligence reports received in London, there were two thousand Finnish workers in Germany in the spring of 1942.[1] In August-September 1942, according to information given to the International Labour Office by the Board of Economic Warfare, their number was nine hundred. There is no more recent data available on this subject.

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[1] The New York Times, 3 May 1942.